1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

XI.—PEOPLE.

I.—POPULATION.

In A.D. 1822 Moorcroft* estimated the population of Ladák at about 165,000 persons, of whom he thought that not less than two-thirds were females. But Csoma de Körös,† who resided for some time in Zanskar, shortly after Moorcroft's visit, says the people of Ladák consisted of 20,000 families. Now, by an accurate census of the two Botian districts of Lahul and of Spiti, it appears that the average number of persons in one family is 6·7. As the different climates of these two districts exhibit the extremes of the Ladáki climate, the mean of the two may be taken as fairly representing the true number of persons in each house or family throughout Ladák. At this rate the 20,000 families of Csoma de Körös would amount to no more than 134,000 persons; to whom must be added about 12,000 lamas and nuns, who dwell apart in the monasteries and convents; thus making the whole population of Ladák (between 1820 and 1830) not more than 146,000 persons. But this estimate is certainly too low.

The information which I obtained in 1847 was derived from various independent sources, all of which agreed

* Travels, I. p. 320.

† Journal As. Soc. Bengal, I. p. 121. Geographical notice of Tibet.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

• 161 [65] in stating that the total number of houses was formerly 24,000, of which only 18,000 paid the house-tax. At the rate of 6·7 persons per house, the lay population would have been 160,800, and the whole population [162] 172,800. But as the result of Moorcroft's inquiries gave a rate of little more than six persons per house, a mean rate of about six persons and a half per house may be taken as the nearest approximation to the true rate. This rate will give a lay population of 156,000, and a total population of 168,000 persons. As this number agrees so nearly with Moorcroft's estimate, it may be assumed to be tolerably correct.

793 In stating the number of professed religionists at 162 12,000, I have been guided only by the vague statements of the people. Some asserted that the number of lamas and nuns formerly amounted to 20,000; but the more general reckoning was only ten or twelve thousand. The total amount of population (between 161 1820 and 1830) was therefore most probably about 165,000 persons, as estimated by Moorcroft.

702 The correctness of this estimate seems to be borne out by the following statement. In 1834, when the Gyalpo called upon all the people to join in repelling the invasion of Zoráwar Sing, he is said to have collected a body of 22,000 men. As the number of houses was 24,000, and as each house was bound to furnish one soldier, the number of fighting men should have been 24,000. But the difference is fully accounted for by the ascertained loss of 14,000 persons by small-pox just before the invasion; for as one-fourth of these must have been grown-up males, the number of soldiers collected ought not to have exceeded 21,500; and making allowances for illness and other causes, was

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

probably not more than 20,000 men. The extra number would have been made up by the quotas of the different kahlons, lonpas, and gobas, who were obliged to furnish from ten to four men each.

Since Moorcroft's time, however, the population has very much decreased, partly owing to the ravages of disease, but chiefly to the destructive effects of war. In the summer of 1834 the small-pox broke out in Ladák with such fatal virulence that 14,000 persons,* or more than one-twelfth of the whole population, were carried off. Amongst a filthy people, who never wash, and who only change their garments when the cloth has rotted piecemeal off their persons, the mortal effect of such a contagious disease as small-pox cannot be wondered at.

But the ravages of disease were almost forgotten in the more deadly destructiveness of war and its attendant miseries. They who survived the small-pox had only to lament the sudden loss of near and dear relatives; but they who escaped death in the war had also to bewail the pillage of their property and the destruction of their houses. By the wholesale plunder of the metal images belonging to the monasteries, the invaders gave a rude shock to the pious minds of the whole people, while they secured the bitter enmity of the lamas by an extensive resumption of monastic lands.

Such was the effect of these severe and impolitic measures, that no less than three-fourths of the lamas,

* About 10,000 died before the conquest. Dr. Henderson, who was then in Ladák, gave both physic and advice, but nothing availed to check the disease. Zoráwar Sing *is said* to have vaccinated great numbers by force, of whom no less than 4,000 died. My informant was a Musalman who hated the present maharaja, and I doubt the truth of his statement about the compulsory vaccination.

798 or about 9,000 persons, are said to have left their native land, and to have found refuge in the numerous monasteries of Great Tibet.

727 During the wars from 1834 to the close of 1841, it is said that about 15,000 Ladákis perished, and that about 1,000 (who were chiefly Musalmans) emigrated to Balti and the neighbouring districts. Of the 4,000 Ladákis who accompanied Zoráwar Sing on his inroad into the Lhasan territory, it is well known that nearly the whole perished in the snow. A few made their way back to Ladák; and some four or five hundred, who were made prisoners, are said to be most strictly confined at Lhasa.

162 In 1847 I found, by a census of 1,890 houses, that the
• 161 average number of persons per house was 4·147; but as a very considerable number of people were absent from their homes, the true rate per house could not have been less than five persons, or about the same as that of the district of Spiti, which I ascertained to be 5·3 persons per house. The number of inhabited houses is said to be 23,000, which at this rate, and allowing the present number of lamas and nuns to be only 3,000, will make the total amount of the population 124,900, or in round
161 numbers, 125,000 persons. The decrease in the population, since Moorcroft's time, is, therefore, not less than 40,000 persons. The causes of this decrease are the following:—

	Persons.
Carried off by small-pox in 1834	14,000
Lamas emigrated	9,000
Perished during the wars	15,000
Emigrated (chiefly Musalmans)	1,000
Total decrease	40,000
Moorcroft's census	165,000
Present census	125,000

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Including Spiti and Láhul, the present population is therefore not more than 4·333 persons per square mile.

The census of the two districts of Spiti and Láhul is as follows:—

——	Villages	Houses.	Males.			Females.			Total Persons	Persons per House.	Houses per Village.
			Men.	Boys.	Total.	Women	Girls.	Total.			
Spiti ..	38	262	460	226	686	503	218	721	1,407	5·3	6·9
Lahul ..	43	594	1,033	1,470	2,503	1,389	945	2,334	4,837	8·1	13·8
Total ..	81	856			3,189			3,055	6,244	6·7	10·8

Neither of these districts is so well peopled as Ladák, the number of persons per square mile being 2·58 in Láhul and only ·608 in the barren and rocky Spiti.

In 1847 I made a census of most of the villages along my route through Ladák, which embraced about one-twelfth part of the whole country.

The following table shows the relative numbers of males and females in the Buddhist country of Ladák, compared with the same in the various Musalman districts on the Indus.

——	Villages	Houses.	Males.			Females.			Total Persons	Persons per House.	Houses per Village.
			Men.	Boys.	Total.	Women	Girls.	Total.			
Ladák ..	142	1,890			3,646			4,192	7,838	4·147	13·3
Balti, &c.	158	6,406			13,662			13,387	23,394	4·235	34·4
					17,308			17,579		4·181	23·85

In the Buddhist country it will be observed that the females outnumber the males, while the reverse is the case in the Musalman districts along the Indus. This is just what might have been expected from the different habits of the people. The Musalmani girl is married at ten or twelve years of age, and becomes a mother before she has acquired either the strength or stature of a

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883)1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

PART III.—LAHAUL AND SPITI.

CHAPTER I.

THE DISTRICT.

[634] 101 131 133 [161]

General description.

The cantons or *wazírís* of Láhaul and Spiti together form the trans-Himalayan division of the Kángra district. Láhaul lies between north latitude 32° 8′ and 32° 59′ and east longitude 76° 49′ and 77° 47′, and comprises an area of 2,255 square miles and a population of 5,860 souls, or 2·6 to the square mile; while Spiti lies between north latitude 31° 42′ and 32° 58′ and east longitude 77° 21′ and 78° 35′; its area is 2,155 square miles and its population 2,862 souls or 1·3 per square mile. The two together occupy the trough between the central and outer-Himalayas, and form a long oblong, of an average length of about 105 miles, and breadth of about 38 miles. It is shut in to the north, and divided from Ladákh and Chinese Tibet by the great snowy range called by General Cunningham the western Himalaya, and recognized by him as the continuation above the Satlaj of the main central-Himalaya. This range has here a mean elevation of more than 18,000 feet. To the south and east, except at the north-east corner where the Spiti river escapes into Tibet, it is shut in and divided from Chamba, Bangáhal, Kúlu and Kanáwar by the mid-Himalaya, which has a mean elevation of more than 17,000 feet. To the west it borders on Chamba-Láhaul, from which it is separated by a lofty off-shoot from the outer-Himalayas, which advances to meet the central range, leaving only a narrow gap through which the waters of the Chenáb escape. In the middle it is cut in two by a ridge, some four or five miles long and 15,000 feet high, which connects the ends of two high spurs thrown out by the great chains above mentioned. This ridge, which is generally known as the Kanzám or Pálamo ridge, from the names of the passes which cross it, forms the boundary between Láhaul and Spiti. The boundary line given in the Trigonometrical Survey maps gives Spiti near a hundred square miles of waste to the west of the Kanzám ridge, on the banks of the Chandra; but in revision of Settlement, with the assent of the headmen of both *wazírís*, Mr. Lyall recorded the Kanzám ridge, which is the water-shed line between the Chandra and Spiti rivers, as the true boundary. It is generally allowed on both sides that the ridge is the ancient boundary; it is also the natural one, and moreover the Gaddí shepherds, who for twenty years have grazed in the debated land, have been paying dues to the *wazír* of Láhaul, and not to him of Spiti. These two *wazírís*, have each in many respects a character of their own, and deserve a separate description.

[651] [563]

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6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER III.

THE PEOPLE.

SECTION A.—STATISTICAL.

K1

Chapter III, A. Statistical.

Distribution of population.

The general distribution of population is discussed in Part I (page 52 *et seq.*) The population is naturally exceedingly sparse, being only 2·6 souls per square mile in Láhaul and 1·3 in Spiti. But in the former there are over 1,200 and in the latter about 1,000 souls to each square mile of cultivation. In Spiti we have a smaller number of souls per house and family than is recorded for any other portion of the Punjáb. The quotation from Mr. Anderson at page 21 explains the reason, and describes the constitution of the family in this wild Tibetan valley.

Increase and decrease of population.

The figures for successive enumerations are given in Part I (page 54). Mr. Lyall is of opinion that the huge increase shown in the population of Láhaul between 1855 and 1868 is due to more careful enumeration; though he remarks that there can be no doubt that the population did increase considerably by natural growth; and in a small degree by immigration from Zánskár and other countries to the north-west. With respect to Spiti, he there also attributes the great increase "mainly to better enumeration; for the population increases very slowly owing to the family arrangements which I have described, and the number of immigrants from Tibet has been inconsiderable." The increase since 1868 is thus discussed by Mr. Anderson:—

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"In spite of these figures I am of opinion that there has been considerable increase of population in Láhaul. The Census of 1868 was taken after the pass leading from Kúlu to Láhaul was open, and so far as I am aware, no attempt was made to prevent double enumeration. The number given by the Census of 1881 shows the population that spent the winter in Láhaul. The number of Láhaulis in Kúlu in winter was great, and there were probably a good many in Simla also. Their presence in Lág Mahárája and Sahri accounts in part for the great increase in these *wazíris*. Láhaul has been very prosperous in trade, and generally prosperous in cultivation. Cultivation cannot extend much, as without irrigation there is no crop, but this has not much effect, as food is cheap in Kúlu and the Láhaulis are great carriers. The missionaries at Keylang have told me that they know that large sums of money are brought into Láhaul, though in outward appearances the people do not show much improvement. I think that probably the increase in Láhaul has been equal to that of Kulu.

K2

"The population of Spiti in 1868 was 1,511 men and 1,513 women, total 3,024, and now it is shown as 1,358 men and 1,504 women, total 2,862. The decrease of 162 is almost entirely among the males, and this is in part due to the exclusion from enumeration of the males who were in Kúlu or on pilgrimage to Ráwalsir, &c. Women also leave Spiti, but not in such numbers as men. The population has probably not increased much, if any. The streams are cutting out lower beds for themselves, and land once irri-

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GATED AND THEREFORE CULTIVATED IS NOW LYING WASTE. P. 94

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER 6

A COURT IN LAHUL

The day I built the bridge at Koksar we went fourteen miles and spent the night at Gundala. Gundala is a small village of a score or so inhabitants. The houses are square affairs with flat slate roofs. Both outside walls and the roofs are plastered with a stucco made from mud. Some have two stories with the people above and the cattle below. Gundala runs at a steep pitch down a mountainside that is dotted with a thin stand of juniper. There are millet, barley, and wheat on the terraces that reach to the river; and willow trees and aspen keep most of the village in shade.

It is ten miles to Kyelang, a distance we covered in about three hours. We traveled in a light, cold rain and were accompanied all the way by the endless echoes of thunder rolling round and round in this narrow canyon of the Chandra. Kyelang is on the opposite side of the mountain behind Gundala. It is a village of several hundred people that sits prettily high on the banks of the Bhaga River. Across the river is a Buddhist monastery on a lonely

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

shoulder of mountain. Kyelang has a bazaar of a dozen or so shops, a grade school, a dispensary and hospital, large administration houses, a cold spring that comes booming out of a pipe, and narrow cobblestone streets where pack trains can barely pass. It is a delightful place in summer months, seldom getting warmer than 73 degrees.

The streets of Kyelang are lined with aspen and willow. The willow is the common white willow of the Old World, the one that is naturalized in parts of the eastern United States, the one that is the standard wood in England for making cricket bats, artificial limbs, and the charcoal used in the manufacture of black gunpowder. The white willows at Kyelang are old and gnarled, two to four feet thick. They have been topped for years and used for wood and so are squat and stunted. New plantings of willow shoots are wrapped in cloth or twigs for protection against the goats. On the slopes above Kyelang are scatterings of juniper (pencil cedar), reminiscent of the juniper one finds in the Steens Mountain country of southern Oregon. And here and there are a few of the willow leaf sea buckthorn—a willow-like tree of the oleaster family (*Hippophae salicifolia*). At both ends of the Bhaga canyon, as seen from Kyelang, are huge snow-capped peaks with glaciers that, during a summer day, reflect in changeable moods most of the colors of the spectrum. Kyelang, green and lush, lies like an oasis—an oasis in granite, snow, and ice.

Kyelang, the capital city of Lahul, was in charge of a Tehsildar,[1] a young, soft-spoken, pleasant Sikh by the name of Mahindar Singh Randhawa. I met him as I arrived at Kyelang in the rain; and he assured me as I dismounted my pony in front of his office that the weather was "most unusual."

Lahul, though a part of India, is a foreign land. The most common language is Tibetan, and yet it is somewhat different because of the Lahuli dialect. The greetings along the trail out of Manali were in Hindustani—*"Ram, ram"* or *"Namaste."* In Lahul they became Tibetan—*"Ju Ju"* or *"Ju Le."*

[1] [Headman--Analyst]

14: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1947 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

476 556 436 427 161 595 181 receives half the crop in return for working the fields, the landowner being responsible for the water-supply and the payment of land revenue.

In Ladakh, as well as in Tibet proper, where the country to a large extent is sterile, the Malthusian law, by which "there is a tendency on the part of the population to increase at a greater ratio than its power of producing food," actually operates. There have been writers who with great plausibility advanced the view that the practice of fraternal polyandry (plurality of husbands) was intended to combat this tendency. It is more likely, however, that the custom of polyandry derives its origin from a crude state of society and originally had no such economic significance. On the other hand, it is quite possible to conceive of a condition of affairs in this arid and sandy country likely to cause widespread famine or continual warfare. Actually neither occurs, for, together with polyandry, groups of families live in one or more houses attached to the paternal property. Moreover, Tibetans generally are not warlike, and the universal virtue of hospitality and the giving of alms to all and sundry acts as a kind of safety valve against famine and war.

241 787 805 Farming activities at the outset are mildly controlled by religious sanctions, and the peasants consult the oracle dictated by the Buddhist priesthood as regards the auspicious moment at which farming operations may proceed. In practice, however, the auspicious time for ploughing and seeding coincides with the time at which the sun strikes certain prominent mountain peaks or cliffs at sunrise, meridian, or sunset. For [114] instance, in a village in which I lived for ten years, a chart of the time of day was drawn up covering a whole year, based on the moment when the sun set over a particular snow-capped peak. The local astrologer—usually a lama or Buddhist priest—also compiles a calendar which serves as a guide to the farmers who can read.

241 134 In spite of the aridity of the country and the lack of moisture, the harvests of Ladakh cannot be said to be insufficient to feed the people. The soil, however unpromising, has the peculiarity of yielding good crops year after year without its being allowed to lie fallow and without, in many cases, any attempt to cultivate an alternation of crops.

241 When a farmer contemplates opening up waste land he must first clear the ground of obstructions, such as rocks, stones, and rough grasses, and then contrive to level the surface. Everywhere you see fields constructed in the form of terraces along the sides of the hills, the stones and top layer of the earth being brought down from a higher to a lower level so as to form a wall or buttress. These parallel terraces of levelled-out land are supplied with water conducted in channels from a mountain torrent caused through the melting of glaciers or accumulations of snow. Another ingenious device for obtaining what will one day become arable land is that of building stone dikes across the sloping sides of mountains near their base. These are constructed by the peasants to assist the deposit of soil and gravel by the melting snows. They are left for years and sometimes generations for the operation of nature in preparation for the labour of man, so that in due course a sterile declivity becomes an accessible flight of terraces of cultivation.

The soil thus reclaimed from the stony and barren mountain sides has

reached northwestern India, or, rather, the foothills of the Himalayas on the Indian side, we heard that a certain amount of polyandry existed among the hill people. We went up to where they were reported to exist and found that polyandry had died out, but kept on looking further until we finally ended up on the Tibetan plateau, about 12,000 feet up, and found a very active polyandrous society among both the nomads of Rupchu (a plateau bordering on Kashmir and Tibet) and the inhabitants of Ladak. The latter is a province of what today is the state of Kashmir, entirely inhabited by Tibetans and situated in the upper Indus valley at the point where the Indus leaves Tibet and enters Indian territory. Later, we went towards central Tibet and investigated polyandry in Sikhim, which is a little state bordering on Tibet and sandwiched between the states of Nepal and Bhutan in the east.

The people living in western Tibet live in an isolated position. The country is very barren and, because of the altitude and the difficulties of travel, the people are very inaccessible. These, naturally, are excellent conditions for such a peculiar custom as polyandry to survive and I am sure that, if Tibetan polyandry is so active and well-preserved as it is there, it is due to the physical environment which favors isolation among these people. In the area we visited, 90 per cent of the population was polyandrous and I understand that nearly all the inhabitants of the vast Tibetan country, of which there are something like three million, are polyandrous, though, of course, it would take actual first-hand investigation to be absolutely sure that this is the case.

The polyandry practised among the Tibetans is of both the fraternal and the non-fraternal type, that is, when a young lady marries a young man she either marries all his brothers regardless of age (she can even be the wife of children born after her marriage), or she can take as many husbands as she desires, without their being related as brothers, at her discretion. I

1; Drew G-S (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

POSITION OF THE WOMEN.

562 462 To a native of India the complete social liberty of the women of Ladākh seems very strange. This liberty, I think it may be said, is as great as that of workmen's wives in England; not only do Ládakhí women go about unveiled, but also they mix where men frequent and enter with them into their pursuits of business or pleasure, and partake too of their toil. I have told what good weight-carriers the women are; in agriculture also they take their share of the work; when the seed is in, the tending of the fields—the watering and so on—is a great deal left to the women, the men perhaps having work abroad.

595 161 [565] Thus far we may think woman's position here to be better than in India, but what is next to tell darkens the picture. Polyandry, plurality of husbands, is, except among the few richer people, quite general; it is much more nearly universal than is polygamy in India, and for this reason, that polygamy is a custom itself expensive, practically reserved for the well-to-do, while polyandry is an economical arrangement, one established on the poverty of a barren country, and extending throughout the people as far as indigence itself does.

[167] There can be no doubt that the practice of polyandry in Ladākh originated from the smallness of the extent of land that could be tilled and the general inelasticity of the country's resources, while the isolation from the rest of the world—isolation of manners, language, and religion, as well as geographical isolation—hindered emigration. It was found impossible for the younger ones either to marry and settle or to go out for their [593] living. They naturally became mere helpers in the household—farm-servants to the elder brother. From that there came about the curious custom that when the elder brother marries a wife she becomes a wife to all the brothers. The younger brothers remain in a very subordinate position in the family, but the wife is held in common. The children recognize all as father, speaking of their elder and their younger fathers. As many as four brothers thus may become, and do become, husbands to the same wife; I

1; Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

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believe there is no limit at all, but of as many as this I have known instances.

In addition to this form of polyandry, which, as I have shown, stands on economical grounds, there is, strange to say, liberty for the women to choose yet another husband from a different family, a stranger. I have known cases where there were two—and, if my recollection does not deceive me, three—brothers, husbands to a woman, yet she took a fourth husband from outside.

The effect of all this in keeping down the population of the country is very great. Not only are fewer families founded than would be otherwise, but the families are smaller. In spite of the restricted area of cultivation, which it would not be easy to extend, though possible in a few cases, and in spite of there being no importation of grain—except of a small quantity of rice, which is an expensive luxury—the population of Ladākh, though fairly well filled up, is not redundant. Each person has his own position in connection with the land, and it would be impossible to take many away without throwing some of it out of cultivation.

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It seems to me that such a balance is preserved in this way:—The system of polyandry probably would have the effect, if it were fully carried out, of absolutely lessening the population. When it does positively act in that way, when from that cause some holdings of land are, so to say, going begging, then more of simple marriages take place. An heiress of a few acres, say, gets a single husband whom she brings home; or an only son has a wife all to himself. Then the natural increase of population recommences, and the balance is redressed.

I could get no satisfactory answer to the inquiry I made of many—what becomes of the surplus of women which must, one would think, be caused by the custom? I did not learn that there were many old maids, and the number of nuns is less than the number of young men that have been drafted off to become monks. It is possible that polyandry alters the proportion of sexes in the children born—lessens the number of females; but this is hypothetical; I could not get statistics to throw light on the subject.

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1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans Ad4

rise above 20,000 feet originate glaciers; there are small ones in the hollows of several such peaks; but there is no great snowy area. The surface of the hills is chiefly disintegrated rock, and the surface of the valleys is earth or gravel. Vegetation is extremely scant; here and there is some green by a spring or along the moistened bank of a stream, and on some hill-sides is a thin herbage. It is this herbage that is the support of the flocks and herds which sustain the small population of Rupshu. Cultivation is carried on in two places only, and to a very small extent; it is on their flocks that the people depend.

In the whole area of the district, which is about 4000 square miles in extent, there are but 500 souls.* These, as will have been understood, are Chāmpās; they are dwellers in tents, or, as the Persian phrase has it, "wearers of tents."† This small tribe, the Rupshu Chāmpās, have about 100 tents, one to a family; they are divided into two camps, which separate in summer, and frequent distinct pastures, but reunite in winter. They make about four moves during the year, with, I think, much regularity, though the time of these must vary if the season be unusually late or early; thus their stay at each encamping-ground is nearly three months on the average. The tents are of a black hair-cloth, made from either yāks' or goats' hair. They are of a peculiar form; they are constructed in two pieces, which are not closely united, but put together so as to leave an opening of six inches all along the top; this allows the exit of smoke, while the fall of rain or snow is so small as to cause little inconvenience, or the space may be temporarily covered with a piece of carpeting. The space within the tents is enlarged by the hair-cloth being pulled out here and there by extra ropes, which are led over a forked stick and then pegged down. The tent is ornamented with little flags and with yāks' tails fastened to the poles. I have no measurement, but from memory should say that the tents are about 14 feet long, 10 feet wide, and nearly 6 feet high. In one OF THESE LIVES A WHOLE FAMILY.

* These people practise polyandry as the Ladākhīs do; to this we must directly attribute their small numbers. The necessity felt for polyandry arose from the number of sheep, goats, &c., being limited by the winter feed.

† *Khima-posh.*

6:India G-3 (1931)1933 AVI Kashmir AV I
W. Tibetans AJ4

K 161 decennial increase comes to 5·64 per cent. against 3·1 of the previous decade representing a fairly satisfactory state of affairs for these tracts.

K [131] The total area of this division is 63,560 square miles or three-fourths of the area of the entire State while the population supported by this huge area amounts to only 288,584 persons *i. e.*, 7·9 per cent. of the total population leading to a resultant density of only 5 persons to a square mile against 183 of the Kashmir Province and 144 of the Jammu Province inclusive of Jagirs. The figures of density offer their own commentry and no words are needed to establish the extreme sparseness of the population in these parts. Taking into consideration of variation from decade to decade it will be evident that internally the tract has grown in population from 160,225 in 1891 to 288,584 in 1931 yielding a total increase of 128,359 persons or 80·1 per cent. in the forty years which represents the highest increase over this long period as compared with the other two provinces or any of the districts. But a study of the figures of percentage variation of this division in the Subsidiary Table No. III shows that there is a progressive decline in the percentage increase rate from decade to decade as is evidenced by the big fall from 44·0 per cent. decennial increase in 1891-1901 to 14·2 in 1901-1911 and to 3·1 in 1911-1921. This leads us to the conclusion that the figures of the earlier Census of these tracts were far from being accurate and as each succeeding decennium is condusive to greater accuracy we may rightly conclude that the rate of increase which is manifesting itself at the recent decades represent the true state of affairs and the figures of the remote decades are not free from suspicion.

Coming to density proper the present Census gives a record of 5 persons to a square mile against 4 of the last Census which naturally means an increase in density by 25 per cent. but looking deeper into the figures we see that the actual density in 1921 was 4·29 and in 1931 it is 4·54 which gives a net increase of ·25 and reduces the percentage increase to a reasonable figure of 5·8 per cent. from 25 per cent. shown above on the basis of round figures.

K 133 241 The reasons for this dearth of population in this part of the State are not too far to seek as the highly mountainous character of the tract coupled with vast treeless deserts at an altitude of 17 or 18 thousand feet above the see-level offers very little attractions to settlers who will scarcely find any land available for cultivation here especially when only ·3 per cent. of the total area is fit for cultivation and the normal rainfall does not exceed 5·7" which is hardly suitable for growing any crops. The passes remain closed during the winter when communications are generally cut off and the transmission of post is also attended with considerable difficulty. There are no roads worth the name.

K 161 The decade under report presents a record of increase in all the constituent units and the variation from 1·7 to 4·72 in the Ladakh district marks a decided improvement while the lowering of the percentage increase in Gilgit and Political Ilaqas is due to more careful enumeration leading to greater accuracy. It is a patent fact that at the present Census efforts have been made for the first time to obtain more detailed data of the Frontier Illaqas which hithertofore were enumerated on a special form having four or five columns instead of the General Census Schedule provided with eighteen columns.

W.T. 161 **49. Ladakh District.**—Having said so much by way of introduction we shall review the tehsil comprising this district in passing with the help of the marginal table. Starting with the Ladakh district having an area

Name of District or Tehsil.	Population 1931.	Density.	Percentage of Variation.		
			1921-1931.	1911-1921.	1901-1911.
Ladakh District ..	288,138	4	+ 4·72	− 1·7	....
1. Ladakh Tehsil ..	34,432	1	+ 6·14	− 2·9	....
2. Kargil	80,238	7	+ 5·26	− ·1	....
3. Skardu	167,477	13	+ 4·60	− 2·6	....

1/x [Errata: cf. category 116, p. 329 for corrections -- Analyst]

of 45,762 square miles and a population of 192,138 persons it will at once appear that the Ladakh tehsil though possessing the greatest area supports the smallest number of people. Its density is, one per square mile, the lowest figure in the whole State. Kargil and Skardu, however, with their respective densities of 9 and 13 present a better record the latter supporting 107,477 persons. All the three tehsils of the districts show a plus variation ranging between 4 and 5 per cent. which bear a happy contrast to the all-round decrease registered by these tehsils at the 1921 Census.

WT 161

Of the total area of the Ladakh district only ·28 per cent. is cultivable which in plain language means that out of a total area of 45,762 square miles only 129 square miles are cultivable. Again out of ·28 per cent. cultivable area 91·7 per cent. is net cultivated and there are very little prospects of agricultural expansion in this district.

WT 241

The normal rainfall is 6·7″ only. The entire gross cultivated area has to depend upon irrigation for growing crops. Rice, Bajra, maize are conspicuous by their absence, wheat only occupies an inferior position having under it 17·5 per cent. of the cultivable area, 47 per cent. being under other food-crops including pulses of which giram is the chief staple.

50. Gilgit District.—The district consists of only one tehsil (Gilgit) with an area of 3,118 square miles and a population of 31,902 persons which gives a resultant density of 10 persons to a square mile. The increase at the present Census comes to 11·13 per cent. which compares well with other districts.

D 161

Name of District or Tehsil.	Population 1931.	Density.	Percentage of variation.		
			1921-1931.	1911-1921.	1901-1911.
Gilgit District ..	31,902	10	+ 11·13	+ 19·6	....
1. Gilgit Tehsil	31,902	10	+ 11·13	+ 19·6	....

Of the total area ·8 per cent. is cultivable out of which 81·8 is net cultivated, the balance still available for being brought under crops being about 18 per cent. The normal rainfall being very low *i. e.*, 4·77″ the entire agriculture depends upon irrigation which has received good attention from the Government during the present decade as has already been shown under paragraphs dealing with irrigational improvements. To counteract Nature's frugality in the matter of rainfall human effort has shown itself at its best in providing irrigational facilities as is reflected by the fact that 99·9 per cent. of the gross cultivated area is irrigated which conclusively proves that natural rainfall by itself would not help even an acre to produce crops.

D 241

Here 35·6 per cent. of the area is under wheat, 9·7 per cent. under barley, 36·7 per cent. under other food-crops including pulses while 23·4 per cent. is taken up by miscellaneous crops. The supply for the military garrisons located at Gilgit is provided through a special "Supply and Transport Department".

51. Frontier Illaqas.—With an area of 14,680 square miles and a population of 64,544 persons the Frontier Illaqas show an increase of 5·82 per cent. over the last Census and the variation in each of the constituent units is shown by the marginal table.

D 161
B 161

Name of District or Illaqa.	Population 1921.	Population 1931.	Density.	Percentage of variation.	
				1921-1931.	1911-1921.
1. Hunza ..	12,117	12,341	3	+ 9·27	+ 19·7
2. Nagar ..	14,188	13,672	9	− 3·63	+ 6·3
3. Punial ..	5,402	6,108	4	+ 11·31	+ 24·2
4. Yasin ..	7,065	8,063	7	+ 14·4	+ 11·9
5. Kuh ..	2,206	2,886	6	+ 23·7	+ 10·9
6. Ghizar ..	3,953	4,112	3	+ 4·02	+ 8·8
7. Ishkuman ..	2,783	2,986	2	+ 7·45	+ 30·3
8. Chilas ..	13,135	13,534	5	+ 3·03	+ 8·01